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## GERMANIC *w*-GEMINATION. I

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That *w* caused far more geminations than is usually admitted is, I believe, a matter of incontrovertible proof. It is also evident that the geminations so caused date from various periods. Some are Primitive Germanic inherited from pre-Germanic; others North or WGermanic; and others restricted to a single dialect. The reason of this is because the *w* did not always come in contact with the preceding consonant. Given the right conditions an IE. *pu* in a *u*-stem might produce Germ. *pp*, *ff*, *bb*, *f*, *b*, or by analogy even *p*. Such parallel forms are very common, especially those with *pp*, *bb*; *tt*, *dd*; *kk*, *gg*, beside those with single consonants. Naturally when such parallel forms were once established, they were greatly multiplied by analogy. This was especially true of the verbs in *pp*, *tt*, *kk*, which came to have an iterative or intensive force.

Many examples of consonant lengthening have been wrongly attributed to *n*. We may properly exclude from Germ. *n*-geminations all words in which the loss of *n* cannot be explained. Even if OHG. *chnappo*, *chnabo* represent double paradigms from an original nom. *\*knabo*, gen. pl. *\*knabōnō* (cf. Brugmann, *Gr.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 715); ON. *skabb*, OE. *sceabb* 'scab' cannot be referred to a Germ. *\*skabōna-*, for in that case the *n* would have remained, just as *l* and *r* remain where they cause gemination. Much less can such forms as OHG. *fethdhah* be explained as *n*-geminations. It is not here denied that *n* is responsible for many geminations: *pp*, *tt*, *kk*, this being a Prim. Germ. or pre-Germ. process in which the *n* was assimilated or absorbed. But in the later Germ. such a process cannot be claimed (with the exception noted above) in face of Goth. *rign*, *taikns*, *wēpn*, and many similar forms in N. and W. Germ.

A *w*-gemination may be suspected wherever related *-yo-*, *eyo-*, or *u*-stems are found. In some instances the *u*-stem remains in Germ., as in ON. *hōttr* from *\*qatū-*, *\*qatu-*, with the *tt* generalized just as we have *nn* in Goth. *kinnus*:Gr. γένυς.



*rupūs* 'grob, uneben, rauh,' *rupūzē* 'Kröte,' Lett. *rupuzis idem*, *rupuls* 'ein grobes Stück Holz; ein Grobian,' Pol. *rupić* 'bite,' *rypać* 'scindere, friare,' OE. *rēofan* 'break, tear,' etc. Cf. No. 53.

4. MDu. *rappe*, MHG. *rapfe* 'Krätze, Räude,' OHG. *raphen*, NHG. dial. *rapfen* 'verharschen,' OHG. *rāffi* 'rauh,' Germ. *\*rapp-*, *rēp-*, pre-Germ. *\*ropu-*, *rēpy*:No. 54.

5. MDu. MLG. *stoppe*, *stoppel* 'Stoppel,' MHG. *stupfe*, *stupfel*, OHG. *stupfila idem.*, *stupf*, *stopfo*, *stopfa* 'Punkt, Tupf, stimulus,' *stupfen* 'leicht berührend stossen, stacheln, antreiben,' MLG. *stoppel* 'Stachel,' Germ. *\*stupp-*, pre-Germ. *\*stupu-*, whence also with later assimilation Germ. *\*stubb-* from *\*stuṭw*:ON. *stubbr*, *stubbe*, 'stub,' ME., MLG. *stubbe idem*, NE. *stubble*:Gr. *στύππη* 'tow,' Lett. *stupure*, *stups* 'das nachgebliebene Ende von etwas Gebrochenem,' ON. *stúfr* 'Stumpf,' etc.

Here also I would add, as genuine Germ. words, OE. *for-stoppian* 'stop up, close,' OLG. *stuppen*, MDu., MLG. *stoppen* 'stop up, stop,' OHG. *stopfōn* 'pungere,' MHG. NHG. *stopfen*, Germ. *\*stuppōn*, *-ōjan* 'stuff, stop up; stop,' pre-Germ. *\*stupuā-* and *\*stúpyo-* in Germ. *\*stuffa-*, *\*stufwa-* 'Stoff,' whence Ital. *stoffa*, *stoffo*, OFr. *estoffe*, Fr. *étouffe*, with reborrowing in Germ.

6. Norw. *duppe* 'tauchen,' OE. *dyppan* 'dip; baptize,' *doppettan* 'dive, plunge (of water-birds),' MDu. *doppen* 'dip, sop, eintunken,' Germ. *\*dupp-*; *\*dubw*:MLG. *dobbe* 'Niederung, Vertiefung; Sumpf,' MDu. *dobbe* 'pit, ditch,' *dobben*, *dubben* 'immerse, duck; deepen, dig,' NE. dial. *dub* 'puddle, small pool of foul, stagnant water'; MHG. *tobel* 'Vertiefung, Waldtal,' OE. *dūfan* 'dive,' etc. Or the forms with *pp* may come from Germ. *-pw*:Lith. *dubūs* 'tief und hohl,' Goth. *diups* 'deep.'

7. MDu. *dop(pe)* 'dish, pot; pod, shell, but always of something more or less round; top; stud, brooch,' MLG. *dop(pe)* 'Schale, bes. von Eiern, Kapsel, Kelch, Topf; Kreisel; Knopf,' ON. *doppa* 'Knopf,' Norw. dial. *dupp* 'Büschel, Wipfel,' MHG. *topfe*, *topf* 'Kreisel, turbo,' *topf* 'Topf, Hirnschale,' Germ. *\*dupp-* 'whirl, roll, any round object,' probably from pre-Germ. *\*dhubhy-*:Gr. *τύφως* 'turbo, whirlwind,' *τύφουι* *σφῆνες* Hes. (cf. *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 332):Norw. dial. *dubb* 'Bolzen,' Swed. *dubb* 'Zapfen,' MDu. *dobbe* 'plug, stopper,' NHG. Tyrol. *tuppə* 'large chunk of wood,' Germ. *\*duṭw*:MHG. *tübel*

'Klotz, Pflöck, Zapfen, Nagel,' MLG. *dovel* 'Zapfen,' etc. (cf. Fick, I<sup>4</sup>, 466).

8. ON. *hnappr* 'Schale, Trog,' OE. *hnæpp* 'cup, bowl,' OHG. *hnappf* 'Napf,' Germ. *\*hnappa-* 'compact mass, chunk,' OSwed. *napper* 'knapp,' ON. *hneppr idem* (*\*hnappia-*), *hneppa* 'klemmen, drängen,' OE. *hnæppan* 'strike (against),' pre-Germ. *\*gnabhū-*: Lith. *knabùs* 'langfingerig, diebisch; geschickt,' Gr. *κναφεύς* 'carder, fuller,' *κναφεύω* 'card, full,' *κνάπτω* 'scratch, scrape; tease, card or comb wool; mangle, tear,' Lith. *knabėti* 'abschälen,' ON. *hnóf* 'schnitt ab.'

9. Norw. *knapp* 'enge, kurz, knapp,' LG. *knapp*, 'gering kurz, spärlich, rasch,' ON. *knappr* 'Knorren, Knopf,' OE. *cnæpp* 'top, mountain-top; brooch,' probably from pre-Germ. *\*gnabhū-*, *\*gnabhū-* (parallel with No. 8), whence Germ. *\*knappa-* in the above and *\*knaþwa(n)-* in Norw. dial. *knabb(e)* 'Knollen, Bergknollen,' Swed. dial. *knabbe* 'Klotziges,' OHG. *knappo* 'Knabe,' *knabo idem.*, OE. *cnafa* 'boy; servant,' NE. *knave* 'a mean, low person,' NHG. dial. *knabe* 'Stift, Keil.'

10. LG. *kippen* 'wanken, schwanken, umwerfen,' NHG. dial. *kipfen* 'kippen,' *kipfe* 'Spitze,' Germ. *\*kip-*, pre-Germ. *\*gibhū-*: Lat. *gibbus* 'nach aussen gewölbt,' *gibbus, gibba* 'Buckel, Höcker' (*\*gibvos*): Lith. *geibus* 'plump, ungeschickt,' Lett. *ģeibulis, ģibulis* 'Schwindel, Ohnmacht,' *ģeibt, ģibt* 'schwindelig, ohnmächtig werden,' Norw. dial. *keiv* 'schief, gedreht, verkehrt,' *keiva* 'linke Hand,' *keiv, keiva* 'linkische, unbeholfene Person,' *keiven* 'klotzig, unbeholfen, plump,' etc. (cf. Walde,<sup>2</sup> 340; Persson, *Beitr.*, 83f.).

Root *\*gei-* 'bend, turn' parallel with *\*geu-*: Norw. *kima* 'sich drehen, wiegen,' *keima* 'sich seitwärts biegen, den Kopf schief halten; schwingen, hin und her schweben'; ON. *keikia* 'den Oberkörper rückwärts biegen,' *keikr* 'mit zurückgebogenem Oberkörper,' *kikna* 'sich rückwärts biegen,' Norw. *kika* 'look at anything, esp. to turn or stretch to look,' Swed. *kika* 'schielen, gucken'; Icel. *keis* 'runder (ausgebogener) Magen,' Norw. dial. *keis* 'Biegung, Krümmung,' *keisa* 'bogen-förmige, krumme Bewegungen machen,' *kīs* 'Buckel (an Kleidern, Schuhen),' *kīsa* 'schielen, blinzeln' (cf. Persson, *Beitr.*, 87), NHG. Swiss *chüren* 'nach einer Seite neigen, z.B. von einem Wagen,' MHG. *kēren*, OHG. *kēran, chērren* (*\*kaizian* or *\*kairian*) 'kehren, (um)wenden, eine Richtung geben.'

11. OE. *cuppe* 'cup,' *copp* 'summit,' *coppede* 'having the top cut off, polled,' *ātor-coppe* 'spider,' ON. *koppr* 'Tasse, Napf, halbkugelförmige Erhöhung,' MLG. *kop*, *koppe* 'Becher,' *kop* 'Kopf; Schröpfkopf,' *koppen* 'köpfen, den Kopf, die Spitze abschlagen,' MDu. *coppen idem*, *coppe* 'round top, crown of the head; spider,' OHG. *kopf* 'Becher, Hirnschale, Kopf,' ON. *kúpóttir* 'rund, kegelförmig,' Norw. dial. *kūp* 'Ausbauchung, Höcker,' Germ. *\*kuppa-*, *\*kūpa-*, pre-Germ. *\*gūbhyo-*:Lat. *\*gubbus* 'humpback' (cf. Walde<sup>2</sup>, 340), Icel. *kúfr* 'rundlicher Gipfel,' ON. *kúfungr* 'Schneckenhaus,' Du. *kuif* 'Haube, Federbusch, Wipfel.'

12. OE. *cipp* 'log, trunk; plowshare; weaver's beam,' NE. *chip* 'a small fragment of wood, stone, or other substance, separated by a cutting instrument,' verb 'cut into small pieces, hack away; break or fly off in small pieces,' MLG. *kippen* 'ausbrüten,' WFal. *ūtkippen* 'ausschlagen (von Bäumen),' Flem. *kippen* 'ausschlagen, geboren werden, kälbern,' ON. *kiappe* 'Ziegenbock,' OS. *kip* 'stock,' OHG. *kipfa* 'Runge,' ON. *keipr* 'Kerbe (für das Ruder),' MLG. *kēp* 'Kerbe,' Germ. *\*kip-*, *\*kaip-*, 'split, burst, sprout, hatch, etc.,' pre-Germ. *ġibhy-*, *ġoibhy-*, probably identical with the following. Compare the root *\*ġei-* in Goth. *keinan* 'keimen,' OE. *cīnan* 'gape, crack,' *cinu* 'chink'; OHG. *kīmo* 'Keim'; *kīdi* 'Schössling, Spross,' NHG. Swiss *chāden* 'keimen,' ON. *kið* 'kid,' OHG. *kizzi* 'Kitz'; OHG. *kīl* 'Keil'; EFr. *kīsen* 'sich spalten, klaffen, gähnen, gaffen.'

13. ON. *kippa*, 'heftig rücken, haschen, schnappen,' 'pull, jerk,' *kippask um eitt* 'um etwas streiten,' N. Icel. *kippast við* 'make a sudden motion, startle,' *kippur* 'pull, jerk; shock,' OSwed. *kippa* 'raffen,' Swed. *kippa efter andan* 'nach Luft schnappen,' MDu. *kippen* 'catch, trap,' *kippe* 'trap, snare,' Norw. dial. *kīpa* 'huschen, hüpfen, rasche Bewegungen machen,' *kīpen* 'ausgelassen, wild,' Swed. dial. *kīpa* 'nach Luft schnappen,' MDu. *kīpen* 'sich anstrengen,' N.E. *chipper* 'active, lively, brisk; cheerful; pert,' dial. *kipper* 'light, nimble, frisky, in good spirits; eager,' etc., Germ. *\*kip-*, *kīp-*, probably pre-Germ. *\*ġibhy-*:ON. *kīfa* 'zanken,' *kīf* 'Zank, Streit,' MLG. *kīven* 'zanken, streiten,' MHG. *kīben idem.*, *kibelen* 'scheltend zanken,' *kippen* 'schlagen, stossen'; OE. *cāf* 'prompt, active, bold,' Lett. *fībēt* (zucken, vibrare) 'blitzen, glänzen,' Lith. *žibėti* 'glänzen, glänzend strahlen, schimmern,' *žiburys* 'Licht, Fackel,' *žibūtė* 'Flitter,' *žaibas* 'Blitz' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Got. Wb.*<sup>2</sup>, 177).

Compare the root *\*ġei-* in the following: Bal. *zinaγ* 'an sich reissen, hastig ergreifen, mit Gewalt wegnehmen,' Av. *zināt*, OPers. *a-dinā* 'nahm weg,' Skt. *jināti* 'raubt, beraubt, bedrückt,' *jyānam* 'Bedrückung,' Av. *zyānəm* 'Schaden,' Swed. dial. *kia* 'nach Luft schnappen,' Norw. dial. *kīkja*, *kikna* 'palpitare, keuchen,' MHG. *kīchen idem*, OE. *cīdan* 'quarrel, complain; blame, chide,' *gecīd* 'strife,' ON. *kitask* 'zanken, streiten,' *kīma* 'spotten,' *kiminn* 'spot-tend,' Swed. dial. *kisa* 'sich anstrengen,' *kēsa* 'biesen,' Norw. dial. *keisa* 'laufen, biesen,' etc.

IE. *-my-*:GERM. *-mm-*

14. Goth. *faurdamman* 'verdämmen, hindern,' ON. *dammr* 'dam,' etc., Germ. *\*damma-*, pre-Germ. *\*dhəmyo-*:Gr. *\*θαμῖς*, pl. *θαμέες* 'crowded, close, thick,' *θαμέως*, *θαμά* 'together, in crowds; often.' The usual explanation that *dam* is from *\*dhəmno-* is inadmissible.

15. ME. NE. *clam* 'sticky, viscous, clammy,' verb 'smear, daub; stick, glue,' MDu. Du. *klam* 'moist, clammy,' etc., Germ. *\*klamma-*, pre-Germ. *\*gləmy-*:Gr. *\*γλαμυ-* in *γλαμυρός* 'blear-eyed,' *γλάμυξος idem* (for *\*γλαμυ-μυξος*); *γλάμη* 'humor in the eyes,' *γλάμων* 'blear-eyed,' etc.

16. ON. *suimma*, *suamm*, *summenn* 'swim' and *suima*, *suam*, *sumenn* come from original *suimma*, *suam*, etc., pre-Germ. *\*səmyō*, *\*səyme*.

17. OE. *grimm* 'cruel, fierce,' *grimman* 'rage,' ON. *grimmr* 'grimmig,' OS. *grimman* 'toben,' etc., may have *mm* from *my*, in the verb primarily only in the present:Gr. *χρέμυλος*, *χρομύλος*.

IE. *-ty-*, *-dhṷ-*:GERM. *-tt-*

18. ON. *knōttr* 'Kugel, Ball,' Germ. stem *\*knattu-*, pre-Germ. *\*gnoty-*, Norw. *knott* 'kurzer und dicker Körper, Knorren':ON. *knoða* 'drücken, kneten,' etc.

19. ON. *hōttr*, OE. *hætt* 'hat,' from *\*hattu-*, pre-Germ. *\*qatṷ-*:Lat. *cappa* 'cap,' *\*qatṷā* (cf. *Class. Phil.*, XIV, 261).

20. OE. *clott* 'lump,' NE. *clot*, MDu. *clotte*, MHG. *kloz* 'klumpige Masse, Kugel,' NHG. *klotz*; MLG. *klūt(e)* 'Erdklumpen, clod,' ON.

*klútr* 'Lumpen, clout,' OE. *clūt* 'piece of cloth, clout, patch; metal plate,' MLG. *klōt*, MDu. *cloot* 'clump, lump, ball,' OHG. *klōz* 'rundlicher Klumpen,' NHG. *klosz*, NE. *cleat*, Germ. *\*klutta-*, *klūta-*, *klauta-* with *-tt-*, *-t-* from pre-Germ. *-dhy-* or *-ty-*: ME. *clodde* 'clod,' *cloud* 'a mass of rock; cloud,' OE. *clūd* 'rock,' Russ. *glūda* 'Klumpen, Kloss,' Slov. *glūta* 'Beule, beulenartige Geschwulst,' Gr. *γλοντός* 'rump, buttocks,' *τὰ γλοῦτια* 'buttocks; two lobes of the brain.'

21. MHG. *statzen* 'aufrecht sitzen, sich brüsten; stammeln, stottern,' Germ. *\*statt-*, pre-Germ. *\*staty-*: ON. *stōðua* 'stop, check,' Lith. *statūs* 'steil; unhöflich,' Lat. *statuo* 'set, establish; raise, erect.' Cf. No. 64.

22. OE. *lætt* 'lath,' OS. *latta*, MDu. *latte idem*, Germ. *\*lattō*, pre-Germ. *\*lätȳā*: MHG. *lade* 'Brett, Bohle, Laden,' etc. Cf. No. 65.

23. OE. *mattoç* 'mattock,' OHG. *steinmezzo* 'Steinmetz,' Germ. *\*matt-*, pre-Germ. *\*maty-*: OBulg. *moty-ka* 'Hacke.'

24. ON., MLG. *motte* 'moth,' Germ. *\*muttan-*, pre-Germ. *\*mutȳon-*: ON. *mōð* 'Schabsel, Schrot,' Cf. No. 66.

25. OE. *cottuc* 'mallow,' formed from a Germ. *\*kutta-* bunch, 'tuft,' also in OS. *kot* (pl. *kottos*) 'grobes, zottiges Wollenzeng, Decke oder Mantel davon,' OHG. *choz*, *chozzo idem*, *umbi-chuzzi* 'Obergewand': OE. *codd* 'bag; husk,' etc. Cf. No. 70.

26. OE. *dott* 'speck, head (of boil),' NE. *dot*, EFrís. *dott* 'Büschel, Haufen, Zotte,' Norw. *dott* 'Wisch, kleiner Haufen,' MDu. *dotten*, *dutten* 'verrückt sein,' MLG. *vordutten* 'verwirren,' MHG. *vertutzen* 'betäubt werden,' *getotzen* 'schlummern,' etc., Germ. *\*dutt-*, pre-Germ. *\*dhudhy-*: ME. *dudd(e)* 'a coarse cloak,' NE. *duds*, LG. *dudel* 'herabhängender Flitter an Kleidungsstücken,' Gr. *θύσανος* 'tassel, tag, tuft' (*MLN*, 22, 235). Cf. No. 68.

27. OE. *plætt* 'blow with flat hand, smack,' *plættan* 'smack, strike with open hand,' Swed. dial. *plätta* 'schlagen, klatschen' Germ. *\*platt-*, pre-Germ. *\*blaty-*: Lat. *blatuo*, *blatio*, *blatero* 'babble, prate,' MLG. *pla(d)ern* 'plappern,' EFrís. *pladdern* 'ein platschendes oder klatschendes Geräusch machen.'

28. ON. *pottr*, OE. *pott* 'pot,' Norw. dial. *pott* 'small cushion'; EFrís. *pūt* 'Geschwulst, Beutel, Sack,' Du. *puit* 'frog,' *puit-aal*, OE. *ǣle-pūta* 'eel-pout,' Germ. *-tt-*, *-t-* from pre-Germ. *-dhy-* or *-dy-*: MDu. *podde* 'toad' (No. 74), OE. *pudoc* 'wen, wart,' Germ. *\*puduka-*



'swelling,' Lat. dial. *būfo* 'toad,' \**būdhō*; *buda* 'sedge,' Gr. *βυζόν· πυκνόν, συνερόν, γαῦρον δὲ καὶ μέγα* Hes.

29. MDu., MLG. *stutten* 'stützen, absteifen,' OHG. *stutzen*, MHG. *stützen*, \**stuttian* with -*tt*- from pre-Germ. -*tu*-:OE. *studu*, *stuþu* 'stud, pillar, buttress,' MHG. *stud* 'Stütze, Pfosten,' OE. *stod* 'post,' ON. *styðia* 'stützen.'

30. Goth. *skatts* 'piece of money, money,' ON. *skattr* 'tribute, tax,' OE. *sceatt* 'coin, money; property; tribute, rent,' OFris. *sket* Geld, Vieh,' OS. *scat* 'Geldmünze, Geld, Besitz,' OHG. *scaz* 'Münze, Geld, Reichtum, Schatz,' Germ. \**skatta*-, pre-Germ. \**skhatyo*- 'piece:coin, money; property:cattle' (cf. Nos. 61, 76). The meaning 'cattle' might have developed directly from 'stript, fleeced,' with reference to the animals whose hides or fleece were stripped or pulled off. In this sense may be derived Germ. \**skēpa*- 'sheep,' pre-Germ. \**skhē-bo*- 'stript or fleeced animal.' For meaning compare ON. *fær* 'sheep':Gr. *πόκος* 'fleece,' *πέκω* 'strip, pull off, clip, shear,' and IE. \**peku* 'pecu, pecunia.' Compare \**skhē-go*- in Skt. *chāga h* 'Bock,' *chāgā* 'Ziege':OFris. *skāk* 'Beute, Raub' (what is stripped off), MLG. *schāk idem*, OHG. *scāh* 'Räuberei, Raub,' *scāhhari* 'Räuber,' OFris. *skēka* 'rauben,' MLG. *schāken idem*, Germ. \**skēk*- 'strip:rob,' and \**skak*- 'strip, piece, point' in OHG. *scahho* 'promontorium,' *scahho meres* 'Landzunge,' ON. *skekill idem*.

The explanation of Goth. *skatts* as from \**skhatyó*- would seem to be inadmissible in view of Goth. *fidwōr* 'four':Skt. *catvārah*. But *fidwōr* may be rather from \**q<sup>u</sup>etuyōres* becoming later \**petyōres* (with *p* from \**penq<sup>u</sup>e* 'five'). Compare Lat. *quattuor*, *quattor*, for \**quatuor*, *quattor*.

31. ME. *smīten* 'cast, smite; go,' MDu. *smīten* Du. *smijten* 'schmeissen, werfen,' MHG. *smīzen* 'schmeissen,' etc. may come from pre-Germ. \**smeityō*, properly only in the present, becoming Germ. \**smītō*, with *t* generalized:Lat. *mitto* (cf. Walde<sup>2</sup>, 489) from \**smeityō*. Compare with *tt* MHG. *smitzen* 'etwas Spitziges schnell bewegen; geisseln, hauen,' *intr.* 'eilig gehen, laufen,' *smitze* 'Hieb, Streich,' etc. and Goth. *gasmīþōn* 'schmieden.'

In this case the above cannot be directly compared with Goth. *bismēitan* 'bestreichen, beschmieren,' OE. *smītan* 'smear,' Norw. *smīta* 'bestreichen,' *smiten* 'einschmeichelnd,' etc.:Lett. *smaidīt*

‘schmeicheln,’ *smaida* ‘Lächeln,’ Gr. *μειδάω* ‘smile,’ etc. (cf. *Mod. Phil.*, IV, 496 f.).

IE. *-qu-*, *-kū-*, *-ghu-*, *-ǵhu-*: GERM. *-kk-*

32. Norw. *lakka* (\**lakkōn*) ‘hüpfen, trippeln,’ MLG. *lecken* (\**lakkian*) ‘mit den Füßen hintenausschlagen,’ MHG *lecken* ‘mit den Füßen ausschlagen, springen, hüpfen,’ pre-Germ. \**laqu-* ‘bend’: ON. *lær*, Swed. *lår* ‘Schenkel’ (\**lahwaz*), OE. *lēow* ‘thigh, ham’ (\**legwaz*), Lat. *laqueus* ‘noose, snare,’ ChSl. *lakŭŭ* ‘Ellenbogen,’ Gr. *λακτιζω* ‘kick, stamp or trample on; struggle convulsively, quiver, throb,’ etc. (cf. Fick, III<sup>4</sup>, 357).

33. ON. *rokkr* ‘Oberkleid, Rock,’ OE. *rocc*, OFris. *rokk*, MDu. *rock*, MLG. *rock* (and *roch*), OHG. *roc* (*-ck-*, *-cc-*) *idem*, Germ. \**rukka-*, pre-Germ. \**ruqyo-* ‘hide with the hair on’: OE. *rȝhæ*, *rēowe* ‘blanket, rug,’ OLG. *rūgi*, *rūwi* ‘rauhes Fell, grobe Decke.’

34. ME. *rokken* (and *roggen*) ‘rock,’ NE. *rock* ‘move backward and forward, cause to sway, cause to totter,’ OHG. *rucch* ‘geschwinde Fortbewegung,’ *rucchen* ‘fort-, wegbewegen,’ MHG. *rücken*, *rucken*, *rocken*, MLG. *rucken*, ON. *rykkia* ‘pull, jerk, wrench,’ *rykk* ‘pull, jerk,’ etc., Germ. \**rukk-*, pre-Germ. \**rukū-*: Lith. *ruszus* ‘tätig, geschäftig, arbeitsam,’ *ruszanti* ‘tätig sein, sich beschäftigen,’ *ruszyti* ‘antasten,’ *rūsinti* ‘berühren,’ root \**reu-* ‘ruere.’ Cf. No. 104.

35. ON. *skykk* ‘undulatory motion,’ OLG. *skokk* ‘schaukelnde Bewegung,’ MLG. *schucke* ‘Schaukel,’ *shocken* ‘sich hin und her bewegen, zittern,’ ME. *shokken*, NE. *shock* ‘strike against suddenly and violently; strike as with indignation, horror, or disgust; cause to recoil, as from something astounding, appalling, hateful, or horrible,’ Germ. \**skukk-*, pre-Germ. \**sququ-*: ME. *shoggen* ‘shock,’ etc. No. 102.

36. OE. *sciccells*, *sciccing*, *scincing* ‘cloak,’ ON. *skikkia* ‘Überwurf, Mantel,’ OHG. *scecho* (\**scecco*) ‘stragulum,’ MHG. *schecke* ‘Leibrock, Panzer,’ MLG. *schecke* ‘Wams für Kriegsleute,’ pre-Germ. \**sqe(n)qu-*: Skt. *kañcukaḥ* ‘Panzer, Wams, Mieder,’ Gr. *ποδοκάκη* ‘stocks for the feet; Norw. dial. *skaak* (\**skēk-*) ‘Gabeldeichsel,’ ON. *skokull* *idem* (perhaps with analogical *k* for *kk*), OE. *scacol* ‘shackle,’ etc. (cf. Fick, III<sup>4</sup>, 447).

37. MHG. *benichen* 'sich neigen, sinken,' *nicken* 'beugen; sich neigen, nicken,' MLG. *nicken* 'niederbewegen, bes. von den Augen, blinzeln, conivere,' Germ. \**hnīk-*, *hnikk-*, pre-Germ. \**qnīg̃h̥u-* (not \**qnigʰh-*): Goth. *hneiwan*, OE. *hnīgan* 'bend down, sink down,' Lat. *cōnīveo* 'close (the eyes), blink; be darkened,' Gr. *κνῖφός*, *σκνῖφός* 'dark, overcast, dim; dim-sighted, purblind,' *σκνῖφώω* 'darken, make dim' (with *φ* from *gh̥u-* or *bh*).

38. EFris. *prakken* 'pressen, drücken, quetschen, kneten,' Germ. \**prakk-*, pre-Germ. \**broǵh̥u-*: Gr. *βραχύς* 'small, short, trifling,' \**brǵhu-* 'compressed,' Goth. *ana-praggan* 'bedrängen,' MHG. *phrange* 'Einengung, Einschliessung,' *phrenge* 'pressen, drängen, bedrücken,' NHG. Bav. *pfreng* 'eng,' Cf. No. 105.

IE. *-b̥u-*: GERM. *-pp-*

39. OHG. *scaph*, *scapf* (and *scaf*) 'Gefäß für Flüssigkeiten,' MHG. *schapfe* (and *schaffe*) 'Schöpfgefäß,' ON. *skeppa* 'Scheffel' (\**skappiön-*), MLG. *schap* gen. *schappes* 'Schrank, um Geld, Speise, Kleider etc. aufzubewahren,' MDu. *schappigh*, *schappelick* 'bene formatus, formosus, compositus, decens, speciosus,' Germ. \**skapp-*, pre-Germ. \**sqab̥u-*: Lett. *skabufis* 'Hundestall; Abteilung im Stalle zum Aufbewahren des Viehfutters; ein altes Gebäude,' OS. *scap* 'Schaff, Bottich, Scheffel, Boot,' *skepil* 'Scheffel,' Goth. *gaskapjan* 'schaffen,' etc., root \**sqab-* 'cut, hew:shape, make; hollow out.' Compare \**sqabh-* in No. 55 and in Gr. *σκάφος* 'a digging; trench, ditch; tub; hull of a ship, ship,' *σκάφη* 'hole, trench; trough, tub, bowl; boat,' etc.

40. OHG. *scopf* (and *scof*), MHG. *schopf* (*schof*) 'Gebäude ohne Vorderwand, Scheune,' LG. *schupp* 'Wetterdach,' OE. *scoppa* 'shed, booth,' NE. *shop*, Germ. \**skuppa-*, pre-Germ. \**squb̥u-*, perhaps formed as a rime-word to the preceding from the root \**squ-* 'cover.' Or from a base \**squb(h)-* 'cut, shape,' as above: Gr. *σκύφος* 'cup, can,' *σκυφίον* 'cup; skull.'

41. OSwed. *skuppa skoppa* 'springen, laufen,' Norw. dial. *skuppa* 'stossen,' MLG. *schuppen* 'stossen, fortstossen,' MHG. *schüpfen* 'in schwankende Bewegung bringen, stossen,' *schupfen* 'in schwankender Bewegung sein,' Germ. \**skupp-*, pre-Germ.

\**squ(h)u*:-Lith. *skubùs* 'geschwind'; Swed. dial. *skopa* 'hüpfen,' ON. *skopa* 'springen, laufen'; Goth. -*skiuban* 'schieben,' etc.

42. OHG. *scoph* (and *scof*) 'Dichter,' *scoph*, *scopf* 'Gedicht, Spott,' MHG. *schopfen* 'dichten,' MDu. *schoppen* 'spotten,' Germ. \**skupp*- or \**skupw*- pre-Germ. \**squby*-, also in Norw. *skopp* 'Schale,' root *squb*- 'vellere':OBulg. *skubati* 'vellere,' Pol. *skubać* 'zupfen, rupfen,' Gr. *σκύβαλον* 'off-scouring, filth, refuse,' *σκυβαλίζω* 'reject, treat contemptuously,' ON. *skop* 'Spott,' *skopa* 'spotten,' *skaupa idem*. Cf. No. 41.

43. OHG. *slipf* 'Ausgleiten, Fall,' *slipfen* 'ausgleiten,' MLG. *slippen* 'gleiten, gleiten lassen; einschneiden, schlitzen, zerreißen,' MDu. *slippen* 'slip; slit,' etc., Germ. \**slipp*- or \**slipw*-, pre-Germ. \**sliby*:-Lat. *dēlibuere* 'benetzen; streichen'; *dēlibāre* 'abstreichen, abbrechen,' OHG. *slīffan*, MLG. *slīpen* 'gleiten, schleichen; schleifen, scharf machen.'

IE. *-pu*:-GERM. *-ff*-

44. OE. *maffa* 'caul,' 'Fetthaut um die Därme,' Germ. \**mafwan*:-Lat. *mappa* 'napkin; signal-cloth,' probably a genuine Latin word: \**mapvā*.

45. OE. *gaffetung* 'scoffing,' Germ. \**gafwat*:-ME. *gabben* 'lie, scoff, jest, prate,' N.E. *gab*, *gabble*, ON. *gabb* 'mockery,' *gabba* 'mock, make game of,' MLG. *gabben idem*, MDu. *gabben* 'scoff, laugh in derision, pre-Germ. \**ghæpy*- 'hiare':ON. \**gafa* 'hiare' (pret. *gafði*), OE. *geaflas* 'jaws,' Bulg. *zēpam* 'gähne,' Skt. *hāphikā* 'Gähnen' (cf. Persson *Beitr.*, 835). Cf. No. 49.

46. OHG. *laffa* 'palmula, extrema pars remi,' NHG. Swiss *laff* 'Löwenzahn,' Germ. \**lafwō*:-Lat. *lappa* (\**lapvā*), Bulg. *lópuš* 'Klette': OHG. *lappo* 'Ruderblatt' (No. 51), OE. *læppa* etc., No. 2.

GERM. *-bw*:-*-bb*-

47. OE. *ebba* 'ebb, low tide,' *ebbian* 'ebb.' MLG. *ebbe*, OHG. *ippikhōn* 'zurückrollen':Goth. *ibuks* 'sich rückwärts wendend'; *ib* 'ab-' (cf. Brugemann, *Grdr.*<sup>2</sup>, II, 1, 507), Gr. *ἐπί*, etc. The meaning of Germ. \**eḃi* was perhaps influenced by \**aḃ*, since IE. \**opī* (: \**epī*) would fall together with \**apó*.

48. NE. *fob* 'a little pocket as a receptacle for a watch,' dial. *fub*, *fubs* 'a plump, chubby young person,' *fubby*, *fubsy* 'plump,

chubby,' NHG. Pruss. *fuppe* 'Tasche, die man an sich trägt,' *sich fuppen* 'Falten werfen, nicht glatt anschliessend stehen, von Kleidern,' Germ. \**fuþw-*:Ital. *poppa* 'Brustwarze,' Lat. \**puppa*, *pūpus* 'boy, child,' *pūpa* 'girl; doll, puppet,' Lett. *pups* 'Weiberbrust,' *paupt* 'schwellen.'

49. ON. *gabb* 'mockery,' *gabba* 'mock,' etc. (No. 45), \**gaþw-*:OE. *gaffetung* 'scoffing.'

50. Icel. *kubbi*, *kubbr* 'stump, stub,' Norw. dial. *kubbe*, *kubb* 'block, stub,' ON. *kobbi* 'Robbe,' Dan. *kobbe idem*, NE. *cob* 'a roundish lump:nut, kernel or stone (of fruit), roundish loaf, ball or pellet of food for fowls; haycock; ear of wheat, cob (of maize); a young herring, bullhead, clam,' *cobble* 'a round stone,' *cub* 'whelp,' LG. *kobbe* 'spider,' NE. *cobweb* 'spiderweb,' etc., Germ. \**kuþw-*:OE. *copp* 'summit,' Icel. *kúfr* 'rundlicher Gipfel,' etc. (No. 11), and perhaps Lith. *guba* 'Schober,' Lett. *guba* 'Heuhaufen' (NE. *cob idem*), *gubt* 'sich krümmen, beugen,' etc. It is probable that the Balto-Slav. bases *gūb-*, *gyb-*, *gub-* (Bernker I, 360, 366, 373) represent IE. \**gubh-* and \**ghubh-*. Here probably also MHG., NHG. *quappe* 'eel-pout':MHG. *kobe idem*. Or less likely *quappe*, Germ. \**kwaþwō-*:Pruss. *gabawo* 'toad,' OBulg. *žaba* 'frog.'

51. Swed. *labb* 'Pfote,' OHG. *lappo* 'Ruderblatt,' *lappa* 'niederhangendes Stück Zeug, Lappen,' MHG. *lappe* 'einfältiger Mensch,' LG. *labbe* 'Mund, Hängelippe,' Nlcel. *labba* 'walk slowly, saunter,' \**labw-*:OLG. *lappe* 'Zipfel eines Kleides,' etc., No. 2.

52. EFris. *libbe*, *libsk*, *libber(ig)* 'widerlich, ekelhaft, schmierig, klebrig,' *libb-söt* 'unangenehm süß, schmierig und klebrig süß, z. B. von Syrup, Honig, etc., from \**liþw-*:Lat. *lippus* 'blear-eyed,' Lith. *lipūs* 'klebrig.'

53. OHG. *rūppa*, *rūpa* 'Raupe,' NHG. dial. *ruppe*, *roppe idem*, OHG. *rūpba* 'Quabbe, Aalraupe' MHG. *ruppe*, *rūpe*, E.Fris *rubbe* 'Robbe,' Norw. *rubb* 'rope-end, stub or fragment of anything,' *rubba* 'rub, scrub; scale fish,' EFris. *rubben* 'rub, scratch, scrape,' etc., Germ. \**ruþw-*:Lith. *rupūs* 'nicht klein gemacht, grob (vom Acker), uneben, rau,' *rupūžẽ* 'Kröte,' *rūpūs* 'besorgt,' *ruplẽ* 'die rauhe Borke an alten Bäumen,' *raupaĩ* 'Masern, Pocken, Aussatz,' Lat. *rumpo*, OE. *rēofan* 'break, tear,' etc. Cf. No. 3.

54. MHG. *rappe* 'Raupe, eruca,' *rappen* 'abraupen,' *rappe* (: *rapfe* No. 4) 'Krätze, Räude,' Germ. \**raþw-*:Pol. *ropucha* 'Kröte,' Gr.

ἐρέπτομαι 'eat, feed on,' ON. *rafr* (strip) 'Raff,' *refill* 'strip,' EFris., Du. *rafel* 'raveling,' N.E. *ravel*.

55. ON., Norw., Swed. *skabb* 'Krätze, scab,' OE. *sceabb* 'scab,' NE. *shabby* 'mean, scurvy; of mean appearance, seedy, unkempt,' MLG. *schabbich* 'räudig,' Germ. *\*skabwa-*, *\*skabu-*: OE. *scafoða* 'what is shaved or scraped off,' OLG. *scavatho* 'Räude,' probably Germ. *\*skabu-þan-*, Lith. *skabus* 'sharp'; *skabù* 'cut, hew,' OE. *scafan* 'shave, scrape,' Goth. *skaban* 'shave,' Lat. *scabo*, *scabies*.

56. MLG. *schubbe*, *schobbe* 'Schuppe,' *schobben* 'die Schuppen von einem Fische entfernen,' MDu. *schobben*, *schubben* 'scheuern, schaben, kratzen,' EFris. *schubben idem*, *schubbe* 'Schuppe,' *schubbig* 'schuppig, schorfig, rauh,' Germ. *\*skuþw-*: ON. *skýfa* 'schieben, stossen; abschneiden,' MLG. *schove* 'Fischschuppe,' *schoven* 'beschuppen, betrügen.'

GERM. *-m-w-*: HG. *-mm-*

57. OHG. *frammert*, *frammort*, *framort* 'vorwärts, ferner': *\*framwert*; *\*heimmort*, *heimmort* 'heimwärts': *\*heim-wert* (Braune, *Ahd. Gr.*, §109, Anm. 4); MHG. *giemolf* 'den Rachen aufsperrender Wolf from *\*giem-wolf* (*Lexer*): OHG. *giumo*, *goumo* 'Gaumen,' ON. *gymer* 'Schlund, Meer.'

58. Like these are OHG. *emmoz*, *emiz* 'fortwährend,' *emmozēn* 'immer,' *emmozīg*, *emizzīg*, *emezīc*, *emazzīg* 'beständig, fortwährend, beharrlich' (NHG. *emzig*), *emmozīgēn* 'fortwährend, immer,' from *\*amwiz*, *\*an(t)-wiz* 'recurring': *\*-wiz* 'going,' *taga-wizzi* (coming daily) 'daily,' *ar-wizzan* 'go away.' Here *n* is first assimilated to *m* before *w* as in MLG., LG. *man* 'nur' from *\*nwan*, OS. *newan*, OHG. *niwan(a)* 'nichts als, nur'; MDu. *mare*, *maer*, Du. *maar* from MDu. *\*nware*, *neware*, *newaer*.

IE. *-dy-*: GERM. *-tt-*

59. Icel. *patti* 'kleines Kind,' Swed. dial. *patte* 'Weiberbrust, Zitze,' NE. *pat* 'a lump, as of butter,' Germ. *\*patt-*, pre-Germ. *\*padɥ-*: Skt. *badvam* 'Haufe, Trupp, ein best. grosse Zahl,' *badarah* 'zizyphus jujuba, Judendorn,' *bádaram* 'Brustbeere.'

No doubt other examples of this change occur.

IE. *-ty-*: GERM. *-pp-*

60. OHG. *fethdhah*, *fettah* 'Fittich,' Germ. *\*fepwaka-*: Lat. *im-petus*, Gr. *πέρομαι* 'fly.' Compare the same ending in Gr. *πέρνξ*

'wing':Lat. *pro-ptervos* 'προπετής'; OHG. *fedarah* 'wing':*fedara* 'feather.'

61. OE. *scaþþa* 'nail,' \**skaþwan*:-*sceaþa* 'nail,' *scapel* 'weaving-implement,' probably \**skaþula*- 'shaft, weaver's reed,' identical in form with Goth. *skaþuls* 'schädlich,' \**skhatulo*- 'cutting, stripping,' sb. 'strip, Scheit.' Cf. Nos. 30, 76.

62. OS. *kledthe*, *kleddo* 'Klette,' OHG. *chledda chletta*, *chleddo chletto idem*, Germ. \**kliþw*:-Lith. *glitùs* 'glatt, schlüpfrig' (primarily 'sticky'), Gr. γλιττόν·γλοιόν Hes.; Lat. *glis*, *-tis* 'humus tenax,' *glūs*, *-tis*, *glūten*, OE. *clīpa* 'poultice, plaster (for wound), æt-clīpan 'adhere.' Similarly OE. *clāte* 'burdock,' *clite* colt's-foot' belong to a base \**glid*- 'stick, adhere':Lett. *glidēt* 'glatt, schleimig werden'; and OE. *clīfe* 'burdock,' OHG. *kliba* 'Klette':OE. *clifan* 'adhere,' Serb.-Cr. *gl<sup>2</sup>b* 'Kot,' OBulg. *u-glībēti* 'stecken bleiben.'

63. OE. *wiþþe* 'withe, bond; chaplet, crown,' *cyne-wiþþe* 'diadem,' OFris. *withthe* 'Bande, Fessel,' MLG. *wedde* (and *wede*) 'Strick, Strang, bes. von Weidenreisern,' Germ. \**wiþwan*:-Lat. *vitta* 'band, fillet' (\**vitvā*), Gr. ἴρυς, Aeol. *fírús* 'the edge or rim of a round body; the belly of a wheel; the rim of a shield; arch (of the eyebrows); rib,' ἰρέα 'willow,' Pruss. *witwan idem*. Notice that Lat. *vitta* is from an early gemination from \**vitvā*, while *cappa* (No. 19) is a later assimilation from \**catva*, \**catuā*.

64. OE. *stæþþan* 'stay, support,' *stæþþig* 'sedate, serious,' Germ. \**stapw*:-OE. *stapol* 'foundation, base; stability; firmament, sky; position, place,' ON. *støðua* 'stop, check,' Lat. *statuo*, *status*, Lith. *statùs* 'steil; unhöflich, derb, grob.' Cf. No. 21.

65. ME. *laththe* 'lath,' OHG. *latta* 'Latte,' Germ. \**lapwō*. Cf. No. 22.

66. OE. *mopþe* 'moth,' MHG. *motte*, *mutte*, Germ. \**mupwan*:-\**muttan*, No. 24.

67. OE. *smiþþe* 'smithy,' OHG. *smiththa*, *smidda*, *smitta* (and *smida*) 'Schmiede' may represent Germ. \**smiþwōn*- (and in part \**smiþjōn*:-ON. *smiðia* 'smithy'):ON. *smiðr*, gen. *smiðar* 'smith,' Germ. \**smiþu*-.

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[To be continued]